

Colombia SC1
Tierradentro

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632 includes 15 villages with Belalcázar as the administrative seat.
 [103] Belalcázar, which takes its name from the conquistador Sebastian de Belalcázar, but not altogether correctly, since the latter was unable to conquer the Tierradentro area, is at the same time the seat of the Apostolic Prefect for Tierradentro. According to the census of 1938, the population of Tierradentro, consisting of mixed-colored colonists and racially pure Indios, contains 17,578 inhabitants, distributed over Belalcázar with 13,861 and Inzá with 3,717 inhabitants. The more recent count of 1951, with a total of 25,495 inhabitants, showed a considerably larger figure, of which 15,388 fall to the municipio of Balalcazar and 10,103 to the municipio of Inzá. A comparison of the two counts of 1938 and 1951 shows /105/ a notable error in the count in the municipio of Inzá for the year 1938 (figures cited in Bernal Villa [1], p. 285).

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641 Of this number about 80 per cent are natives who today
 [162] are largely civilized, that is, they are baptized and speak some
 [851] Spanish. Politically they, too, are basically full citizens of the
 [191] country; they may vote and be drafted into military service, but
 P do not pay any taxes. In one respect, however, fortunately for
 641 them, they are regarded as "minors" before the law; in their
 423 totality they own all the landed property of Tierradentro, but
 P the individual man is not in a position to sell his land. This is
 641 supposed to keep the Paez from losing their settlement area to
 423 the whites. In practice this law is not always strictly observed,
 691 for otherwise neither the colonists nor the large landowners, who
 648 are slowly but surely pushing their pasture and agricultural lands into the territory of the natives, could be in Tierradentro. The latter cannot in fact defend themselves against this, for, due to lack of money, no one among them is in a position to complain in court. If a complaint is nevertheless made, the Indios always lose, as, for example, in Itaibe, in the southeastern part of Tierradentro, where the Spaniards began to colonize as early as 1636 and where for many years lawsuits were carried on by the Indios in vain. Moreover, no judge is able to undertake anything against a rich landowner or against the missions likewise owning land.

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123 knew tales he could tell, and to whom we gave tobacco and salt and a few other small gifts, a knife, a hoe, or an aluminum cup. At the moment he had a headache, he said. I gave him a few tablets, and we agreed that I would come back the next morning and he would tell me a few tales. When we arrived the next day, after hours of tramping, his wife told us that her husband had gone into the mountains very early that morning in order to cut wood.

115 Our first visit in Calderas took place in the company of the interpreter, Marcos Antonio Penkue, a Paez about 40 years old from San Andrés, who regarded himself as very civilized and who had reached a certain position of wealth. He served as a

• [191] soldier on the Brazilian border and speaks Spanish well. On his
[245] finca /see the glossary, p. 249 / he has about 2,000 coffee trees,
[439] whose yield he sells in Inzá on the market. He also carries on
[464] other business there by functioning as an interpreter and middleman for the non-Spanish-speaking and generally unbusinesslike Paez.

During our work in Calderas he combined business with his services.

[233] The Paez are ardent cattle-raisers, albeit not in our economic sense, but purely for sport and the pleasure of numbers. A cow-calf is much more valuable to them than a full-grown bull, for it will produce another calf and increase the herd. Thus, Marcos Antonio exchanged calves for bulls in Calderas and, indeed, bought

[437] some cattle himself. These business transactions bring him about
[434] 200 to 250 pesos profit per head, since among themselves the Paez ask only low prices, about 50 pesos for a bull. His selling price on the market in Inzá amounts to about 300 pesos. He regarded the work with us as highly troublesome, but he knew what he was worth to us. His fee rose from three pesos a day at the beginning to ten pesos. Translations that seemed to him too complicated or explanations that were too long for him he would give "in essence" in a few words, after which my counterquestions obviously annoyed him. One day when I had planned some important work, but he some important business, he hid our horses and calmly let us look for them all day long, while he, under the pretext of searching for the horses, carried on his business until he "found" them in the evening.

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We then looked for another interpreter, the Calderun Victoriano Piñakué, about 17 years old and very open-minded with regard to "white" civilization. His father even once visited Popayán, the capital of the department of Cauca. Through this he had a somewhat broader outlook and became involved in a quarrel with a bad shaman, in which the latter took one of his eyes by magic. Since then old Piñakué has been blind in one eye. A younger brother of Victoriano is going to school in Inzá and is the helper of the sacristan there. Victoriano is very much interested in one day becoming acquainted with Popayán or even Bogotá. He speaks Spanish quite well and has already earned money on occasion in the service of the white colonists and in La Plata as a construction worker, in order to buy clothing of the whites for himself. By "white" the Paez mean the Spanish culture of the Colombians, namely, clothing, education, and corresponding customs, not, however, skin color or other characteristics of the white race.

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Victoriano set great store by dressing, not like a Paez, but like a white. He was an enthusiastic fellow-worker, not, however, out of greed for money, but out of sincere interest, and at every opportunity he would ask how things were among us in Germany. With a great craving for knowledge, he would again and again have our photos of Europe explained to him, and he even made an effort to learn German.

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In his native village of Calderas the work with Victoriano was very difficult, since he was very unpopular because he dresses like a white. Several times, when his fellow villagers were drunk, they even wanted to murder him. Once when we visited a house together, he was heckled by some tipsy men: he was called a sluggard who does nothing the whole day but talk with the "doctores" and go for walks. Besides, they said, he thinks that he is better than the rest of the Paez because he wears "white" clothing. When Victoriano replied that in his work among the whites it would be impossible for him to wear the Calderun costume, but that in his dress he was obliged to adjust to his environment, they retorted that he went to the whites merely in order to be able to eat more meat.

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101 only it might be necessary to modify it slightly if we were able
103 to localize all of the thirty-four villages or hamlets reputed to
be of Paéz stock and included in the following systematic list:

1. Paéz Basin		
As-at	Inzá	Suin
Chinas	Láme	Tálaya
Chitoco	Monoco	Toés
Cuetandó	Nátaga	Vitoncó
El Pital	San Andrés de la Plata	Yaqirá
El Naranjal	San José	
2. Palo Basin		
Jambaló	San Francisco	Toribío
Pitaio	Tacueyó	
3. Ovejas, Corra, and Picudama Mountains		
Cajibío	Caldonío	Paniquitá
4. Yaguará Basin		
El Retiro		Iquirá
5. Locality Uncertain		
Ahirama	Oyó	Ricaurte
Caldera	Pueblo Nuevo	Tobúma
La Troja	Posó	

101 The principal neighbors of the Paéz Indians, according to the
above description of their territory, were to the north—the
Quimbayas on the western slope of the central cordillera, and
the Pijaos on the eastern slope. To their east were the Manipos,
in the Magdalena valley; the Guanacos were on both watersheds
of the central cordillera southward; and westward on the plains
of the Cauca valley, the Kitsua and the Jamundies. The Kitsua
were probably the most advanced in culture of all these different
stocks, and the ones whose influence is more easily recognized
in the customs and idiom of the Paéz. Their language is also
[177] the only one which has come down to us in its integrity.

191 There is no positive proof of the identity of the Paéz and
101 Pijaos, and it is fair to state that there are many data pointing to
174 the fact that originally they were merely neighbors, and allied
against the Spaniards, as, for instance, in 1641, when they de-

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The Race for the Rooster at Tumbichukue

103 The name of Tumbichukue is familiar to the colonists throughout Tierradentro. It is synonymous with fabulous treasures. In this place, it is said, the Paez buried all the gold and silver that they collected in the ill-fated settlement of Sebastián Quintero destroyed by them.

[131] Tumbichukue is a pass /vereda/ formed by the eastern slopes of the paramo of San Lucas and located between the Kukiyú and the Yusayú gorge (Guacharaca). It belongs to the parcialidad of Lame, and the road that goes from San Andrés [491] to Lame passes precisely there. This road is well traveled, its people more accessible to the whites.

796 On June 24 the men race their horses along the road.
541 It is a custom of Indians and whites "to race on the day of San Juan." The whites say that those who do not race their horses on the day of San Juan get scabies. The small, husky horses pant under the demands of their drunken riders. A wild race and shouts in an unsteady voice: Viva San Juan!

The people of the pass go to a small square along the road, near which lives the capitán of Lame. Indians from 184 San Andrés come to watch the race for the rooster. On the 796 other hand, in spite of the nearness, no Calderon /person from 291 Calderas/ is seen there. The women who are seen are clean, 177 with neatly braided hair; they wear black skirts, navy-blue 301 rebozos, pink blouses, numerous multi-colored necklaces, 541 bright earrings, and cloth hats. The monotonous dark or black necklaces characteristic of Paez apparel are nearly absent among these people. The classic pindo hat worn by the [91] Calderas people is absent. Spanish is spoken more frequently.

796 All the riders are concentrating on the cage and the
541 roosters.

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75 the neck, he exerts some pressure and the icy water runs down
783 the body. He goes down the left side and then goes to the
hole to bury these remedies. /With these remedies the body
absorbs coolness. After having buried them, he blows
aguardiente into the air and then drinks some more.

Once more at his place, he gives the patient a few herbs
(shu and siempre viva?) to hold in his hand. He goes to the
right of the patient and from there points to him with the tama
and blows; he draws nearer, and he makes the familiar passes
with the tama and the remedies named. He rubs the crown
of the head (vertex), throat, and the nape of the neck.

[782] They go to the hole and toss the herbs into the hole. The
curer takes a mouthful of aguardiente, stretches the tama to-
ward the horizon, rises proudly, sets his eyes in the direction
of the tama, blows violently several times, and soon his atti-
tude becomes entreating. [191] /232/ Actually, he prays in
Spanish: "Lord, help us; I implore you for everyone." The
té eu said later that he had prayed to Thunder, so that he
would help him and would not permit the sorcerer to discover
this hole where the "dirt" was buried. He drank a swallow.
The patient blows a mouthful of aguardiente into the air and
drinks a second one. They return to their places. The curer
picks up the calabash of chicha, goes to the hole, and pours
it out. It is a gift to Thunder.

Once more in his place, he puts yacuma, shu, and tashú
into a calabash of cold water. He goes to the patient's right
and from there sprinkles this water first on the house and then
on the patient, who first removed his hat by order of the curer.
This is a veritable bath, so that if any ptans should remain,
it would be removed and he would be completely clean. The
remaining water is poured into the hole. He blows aguardiente
and drinks some more, the patient proceeding in the same
way. The curer raises the tama and implores: "I pay you;
I shall pay you." The curer said that he had spoken as follows:

[Mosoco]

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105 Potatoes are the principal crop in the parcialidad of Mosoco
178 and the primary source of the natives' monetary income. It has
[244] made possible the establishment of intensive trade with the
municipio of Silvia and has plainly had repercussions in the modification of rules of behavior and the restructuring of institutions. The transformation embraces nearly all aspects of Páez culture.

In the first place, work has intensified. The people of Mosoco have permanent work throughout the year. The women participate directly in the preparation of the soil, the planting, and the harvesting.

The children of both sexes go to school regularly, learn basic skills, and utilize them in everyday life. Mosoco is the only part of Tierradentro where there is a private school supervised by a native.

● [191] Bilingualism is general. The "chontales," that is to say, persons who do not speak Spanish, are very few. There are not more than ten.

[278] The consumption of coca has disappeared among all the youthful elements.

[262] The alimentary diet and schedule have been altered considerably. They have breakfast very early in the morning, lunch
[264] at noon, and dinner at nightfall. Milk, panela, lard, meat, and bread are consumed regularly.

The utensils are completely modern, consisting of aluminum and iron pieces.

There are wooden beds for sleeping, and blankets as well.

The houses are better built and furnished. There are houses of adobe and tile. Two tile-works inclusively already exist in the parcialidad.

The people are hospitable and generous toward foreign visitors.

[291] The clothing of the men is almost completely transformed. They dress like any Colombian peasant. The palm hat worn in other parcialidades has disappeared from this region. The women are clean, orderly, and talkative. They retain the slit skirt and sash, but have adopted chemises and the blue rebozo of the

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SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

(B. A. M. BULL. 148)

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[177] in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his subjects, had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out, however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude or debt slavery.

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[631] The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (sindico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, arranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink which he had always taken on religious or social occasions.

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[622] The Indians of Narifo, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguez* and *Pérez*, however, retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices introduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.